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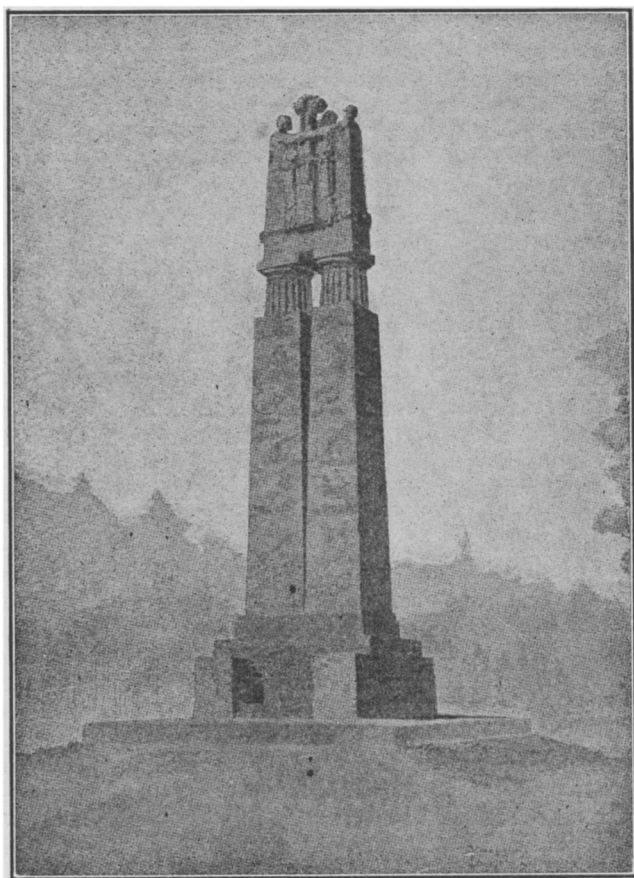
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SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN PEACE MONUMENT.

This monument is to be erected this year on the Swedish-Norwegian boundary to commemorate the hundred years of peace between the countries. Designed by Lars Lehming.

The Philippines and Naval Reduction.

By Lucia Ames Mead.

For fifteen years nine million brown people have been under the domination of the United States. The Democratic party, now in power at Washington, has definitely pledged itself in its platform to grant independence to these islands, and the Jones bill, which died in the last Congress, will probably reappear in some modified form. This proposed independence in 1921, and promised to secure adequate defense by neutralization guaranteed by the powers, so that fortification and navy would be needless.

No patriot and Christian can be indifferent to this matter, which affects our nation and the world as well as the Filipinos. The future not only of these eight millions is at stake—the one million Mohammedans and pagans in the Sulu archipelago being a quite different problem—but the size of our navy and our influence as a peace power are to be profoundly affected by this decision. Because, as naval experts claim, the maintenance of our great navy is one-half due to necessity of guarding our island possessions, the Philippine problem becomes of enormous importance in the whole

world's problem of reduction of armaments. Our decrease of naval force would powerfully affect that of Japan and France and some South American nations, all of which have been enlarged partly on account of our increase.

Ten years ago the bitterness against anti-imperialism was in proportion to the mental foggyiness regarding its real meaning. "Anti-imperialism means going against the government," was the lucid reply of one Boston lady to my request for her understanding of the term! "The men I have met who have been interested in foreign missions were all expansionists," said a distinguished clergyman, who, like most men in those days, confounded expansion and imperialism, and thought our policy to be right. The religious press had articles on "our colonial policy." The average man, knowing nothing about real conditions except what the censor at Manila permitted to go out, complacently settled the question by saying, "McKinley is a kind, Christian man; I'll trust him to do the right thing." But the teaching of all history, alas, is that the blunders of amiable men have often been as disastrous to the world as the wickedness of the vicious.

It is high time that the American people, with all the facts now available, bestir themselves to consider the significance of the situation and to ask what is their immediate duty, in spite of Representative Jones's unjust aspersions. Granted that since we ceased killing the natives we have done enormous good in educating half a million children, in building roads and sewers, in transforming Manila and establishing a model printing press and hospital and prison; granted that such a missionary hero as Major Finley has done as Governor a noble work among the Moros; that our civic government under Governor Forbes has been admirable and irproachable, and that no other power would have done as well as we, yet several other matters must be considered before a decision can be made.

First, let us do some clear thinking and understand the terms we glibly use. A colony is very different from a mere possession. A colony is a body of people going out from a mother country and retaining filial relations with it, as in the case of Australia and New Zealand. The *Outlook's* articles on "Colonial Policy" toward our distant aliens, whom few know or are interested in, have helped by their title to cloud the real situation. This is no mere quibble in words. Possessions are as different from colonies as indigent wards from one's own children. Expansion refers to area, not to form of government. Anti-imperialism has nothing to do with anti-expansion. Our expansion by the Louisiana and Alaska purchases had no parallelism in our paying Spain \$20,000,000 in 1899 as a quitclaim for her properties in the islands. In the former case we bought practically empty land and guaranteed full rights of citizenship instantly to the few whites in the Louisiana territory. We could not buy 9,000,000 people in 1898. They were not cattle nor chattel slaves. If they were children, at least like children, they should be able to look forward to reaching some time their majority.

Imperialism means the domination, however benevolent, of a strong people over a weak people, with no promise nor plan to incorporate them or grant them in-

dependence. That imperial position our government has never declared. It has never defined its position to the Philippines as it did to Cuba. The Filipinos have waited fourteen years to learn whether we shall take an imperialist position, and hope and labor and enterprise languish because we have refused to decide.

In the winter of 1899, before a Nebraska soldier, firing on a Filipino who declined to halt, precipitated a three-years' war, Senator Bacon offered a resolution to the effect that "we will not undertake to exercise permanent dominion over the Philippine Islands," and this was lost by one vote. This has been called "perhaps the most uniquely momentous roll-call in the parliamentary history of Christendom." Had one vote been changed, we should have saved a war in which it took 120,000 American troops and an ultimate expenditure of \$300,000,000 and three years' time to crush out—not a desire for independence, but active opposition.

Whether we were right or wrong in this is not now an academic question. It is a vital one, profoundly affecting our solution of the problem. The ethics of the gentleman must be the ethics of a self-respecting nation. If we through ignorance did a wrong and fresh information convinces us that it was a wrong we must act accordingly. Sometimes wrong cannot be righted. We cannot bring to life the unknown thousands killed and the 190,000 natives who perished from disease and famine incident to the war,* but we can do the justice of adopting a definite policy, repudiating the imperialist policy, and assuring independence as soon as a stable government is established.

Judge Blount, a soldier in Cuba and later a soldier and then United States district judge for seven years in the Philippines, has published an exhaustive book of 650 pages, dealing with the whole situation from 1898 until 1912.† He writes of our "strangling of the legitimate aspirations of the natives," in which he admits helping to do the strangling. "Thirteen years afterward," he adds, "a thorough acquaintance with the Filipino's side of the matter, derived from the information which has been gradually accumulated and published by our government during that time, causes me to say, 'Father, forgive me, for I knew not what I did.'"

Few will read Judge Blount's racily written but ponderous volume; but the gist of it should be understood by that ninety-nine out of every hundred American citizens who imagine that the United States has been paying for civil government and education in the Philippines and do not know that for that purpose we have never given them a cent, and who placidly ignore the keen endeavors of certain Americans to exploit the islands for their own selfish purposes.

We have short memories, and a brief review of the fifteen years' history since Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila is needed to understand the elements of the Philippine problem now before the American people for settlement. The Filipinos, like the Cubans, had been in rebellion for years, and Aguinaldo, the chief insurgent, pending promised reforms by Spain, was on the

Asiatic coast in April, 1898, but returned at Admiral Dewey's urging to co-operate with him in defeating the Spanish. This co-operation was most effective, for Aguinaldo was, as the commanding general said, "a natural leader of men," and his fighting on land was, according to Admiral Dewey, "saving our troops." After the downfall of Spain, in which the natives took an important share, they naturally assumed that we had come to help them to freedom as we did Cuba, and that their aid to us would be rewarded. Though no explicit promises were given by our officers, they themselves seemed to expect this, and Admiral Dewey wrote to President McKinley, "In my opinion these people are superior in intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Judge Blount after experience with both strongly affirms this judgment.

A Filipino government was formed, the first attempt in Asia at anything like a republican government was begun, and its assembly, according to John Barrett, Director of the Pan-American Union, who saw it in session, compared favorably with that of Japan. This government lasted until broken up in the winter of 1899 by American guns.

Whether influenced chiefly by a Methodist bishop, with visions of missionary propaganda, as it was said, or in the policy of philanthropy, President McKinley, with no conception of the universal desire there for independence, and depending for information on a general who never left his office in Manila, instructed our delegates at Paris to demand our complete sovereignty over the islands. General Merritt had said, "The natives could not resist 5,000 troops," but it proved that they did resist 120,000. Had the President not assumed that only 1 per cent were eager for independence instead of 99 per cent, as subsequently proved, surely so good a man could never have made such tragic blunders.

The first gun was fired from Washington in December, 1898, before the ratification of the Paris treaty with Spain, when President McKinley, on his own responsibility, demanded complete sovereignty; and General Otis, knowing that this meant war, ventured to expurgate the President's message. Even then, had Senator Bacon's resolution in January, 1899, to declare for the ultimate independence of the islands not been lost by one single vote, all would have been saved.

When war broke out, men of whatever dialect or tribe as one man fought Americans as they had Spaniards. One common purpose welded them together and their leader had their loyalty. The wretched story of those tragic days, when the censor at Manila prevented the truth being known, when in order to secure a semblance of victory before McKinley's second election public officers used wild rhetoric, imagination, and sophistry, can only be realized by one who will take the trouble to read the mass of documentary evidence now available. It is well here to recall the protest—finally got through by letter by way of Hong Kong—made by a band of newspaper correspondents against the censorship. "My instructions," said General Otis to them, "are to let nothing go that can hurt the administration."

The puzzled American people, without much opportunity to fairly consider the issues, were led to commit a sin, in consequence of which they stepped down from that splendid moral pre-eminence whereon they had

* The losses on the American side were less than 5,000, including all who died by disease, drowning, and suicide. Less than 2,000 were killed in battle.

† The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912. By James H. Blount. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912.

hitherto stood. Then began the South American suspicion of our future intentions in dealing with weaker peoples, and then was given the impetus to that awful increase of militarism and armaments which is making us spend today in time of peace as much as we then spent in war.

Of course, the little brown men used guerrilla warfare and deceit and cruelty, but so did we. The records of American soldiers torturing prisoners by the water cure to secure evidence against their comrades, of General Funston's deceit in capturing Aguinaldo, leave not much to choose between them.

President Taft, made Civil Governor in 1901, with all the kindliness of his great heart, did all that mortal man could do to a people who wanted, not kindness, but justice and independence. In the interests of politics the true situation was obscured. The generals knew that war had by no means ended when civil government was re-established; but Governor Taft in Manila never knew it, and sincerely thought he was telling the truth in reporting that "*a great majority of the people*" were willing to accept our sovereignty, while the general in the field was simultaneously reporting the "*united and apparently spontaneous action of several millions of people*" against us. We salved our conscience by calling these men "insurgents," as if those who had never owed us allegiance would be held as breaking faith and being rebels.

After we had crushed out the possibility of resistance, after the consequent famine and cholera and the ravages of the "rinder-pest" were past and schools and roads and sanitation were introduced, there is a pleasanter chapter to read. On this we fondly dwell, and declare that no other nation ever did or would do what we have done. True, possibly; but all these benefits were paid for out of the island revenues; not one cent, as has been said, does the United States pay for schools and civil government. These islands, according to Judge Blount, have been mulcted of \$4,000,000 in rebates of export duties which the tariff law permitted the hemp trust to take.

Americans today know little and care less about the exploitation of the Filipinos by sugar and tobacco interests and about Filipino aspirations. That is the chief reason why we shall never do our duty to them until we promise them the independence for which they are as well fitted as some other peoples of the earth with whom we do not meddle. Granted that, like China, they need to engage experts like Sir Robert Hart to direct their customs, oversee their sanitation and other technical matters, what ground is there to deny that, freed by neutralization from all danger from attack, they can by 1921 embark on independent government? That they will then be capable is the firm judgment of Judge Blount, who has intimately measured their capacity in seven years of war and peace. Should they some time have revolution or civil war they would do no worse than have the United States and nearly every republic on this continent whose right to independence is not thereby questioned.

We have heard far too much of their pagan tribes, their "jumble of dialects," their lack of homogeneity. The St. Louis Exhibition from the Philippines emphasized the small, barbarous element because it was picturesque, and the average Christian Filipino was too much like ourselves to attract attention. "The wild

and uncivilized inhabitants outnumber three to one those who would be qualified to vote under the pending bill," said the minority report of last year; but this, says Judge Blount, counts all the women and children in the wild tribes and thus throws dust in the reader's eyes, as the voters will represent three times as many women and children. By 1921 he claims that 5,000,000 will be voters, "the cream of whom are high-minded gentlemen, and all of whom are intensely patriotic." Whether the exact date of independence be 1921 or 1925 is not important; but a definite promise of independence is important to arouse courage in the native, to discourage exploitation, and to call a halt to our naval expansion, which is one cause of Japan's naval increase. At all events let no one dare refuse this who has not carefully read and weighed the testimony.

Is not now the time to promise these people what they have consistently longed for and still demand, when by so doing we can in some measure retrieve our blunders, cut down our navy one-half, and prove to certain nations that suspect our ambitions that we are really disinterested? Let us not pusillanimously give up the islands because they are a burden and we are tired of them if it is our duty to keep them; but let us promise them their independence because both their ultimate good, the world's need of lessening armaments, and the justice of the situation in its largest aspects demand this of our great Republic. Let us help advance their education, as Governor Forbes so well advises. Let us do more: Let us build one less battleship and put its cost into our first real gift for education to the Filipinos, thereby fitting them the sooner to establish a stable government and, by freeing them, also free ourselves from the need of having more than half our present fleet.

The Passing of War.*

By Reverend Michael Clune.

It is claimed that war has advanced civilization. It has. So has slavery, so has polygamy. There was a time when the savage chief advanced humanity by enslaving his captives, instead of killing and eating them. There was a time when polygamy introduced progress by changing general bestiality into responsibility between the sexes. Shall we continue slavery and polygamy because they were at one time useful?

It is claimed that war induces bravery. It does. So does drunkenness. A mouse found its way into a wine cellar. Its feet got wet from the drippings of a barrel. It put its feet to its mouth, and liked the taste. Soon it had a jag on, crept up to the outer world, looked around and said, "Where is that — cat that chased me yesterday?" Of course the story is extreme, but so is the deceit of war. The bravery that is afraid to kill, but not afraid to die; the bravery that would suffer pain, but would not inflict it; the bravery that is evoked by pity for others, is above and beyond the bravery of war. If the acts of heroic self-denial taking place all around us were correlated and told, they would make the greatest epic yet sung. Let me tell one. Two boiler-makers went into a large boiler to fix flues. By a fatal

*From an address delivered at the annual meeting of the New York Peace Society.